NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
5 cents
Vol. 2, No. 25 NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 17, 1950

HARRY TRUMAN'S SPRING CORN

Don't be a sucker!

THE Washington Circus took to the road last week, with Harry S. Truman, who owns a good piece of the show, in the barker's box. Aften ten days and ten dozen whistle-stop speeches dripping with pie-in-the-sky gobbledygook, it was apparent that trouper Truman was out to make P. T. Barnum look like a sucker for his famous remarks about suckers. The President believes TWO are born every minute.

The routine is sure-fire. The President makes a first appearance at 6 a.m.; gets off a cutey about Bess and Margaret still being asleep; turns serious: "I'm talking to you as your hired hand" (claque up front breaks its hands over this fresh-plowed fertilizer); tells audience they're going to get the biggest dam (bridge, atom plant, post office, irrigation ditch) they ever saw; slips in crack about "effete" Easterners ("Yahoo-o-o!"); looks fierce, warns "the reactionary forces" and "the interests" they can't stop him (claque goes mad, train whistle blows).

CORN? Iowa never saw the likes of it. Harry Truman's corn is so tall it hides the slaughterhouses where American democracy is being hung by the hoof, slit in the throat and left to bleed to death. Harry Truman owns a good piece of these slaughterhouses too. Here's what they did last week:

THE JUDICIARY: Steadily, cynically, the Truman appointees on the Supreme Court were making a monkey out of the Bill of Rights (see below and p. 3).

THE LEGISLATIVE: Members of Harry Truman's own party in the Senate voted to shunt aside a bill to establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission — a bill which Truman's hacks on the Hill took off the shelf just in time to make his platform talks about civil liberties sound real honest.

THE EXECUTIVE: Truman's Attorney General was asking Americans to spy on their neighbors; and the FBI was reported to be investigating William H. Hastie, a Negro whom Truman had appointed LAST OCTOBER to the Circuit Court of Appeals. The Senate has not acted to confirm the appointment, nor has Truman acted to make the Senate act.

Thus the three branches of the U. S. government, established with checks and balances to "secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity," are smashing the checks and tipping the balances to form a less perfect union.

NO, there are no jack-booted men marching up and down the streets of our cities. There is no American Horst Wessel Song blaring from loudspeakers. It's spring and the trees are green and kids are playing in the sun in the parks.

But the serenity is deceptive, as deceptive as a Truman speech. Will you let yourself be deceived and lulled—or will you be in action this fateful spring and summer, while there is still a measure of freedom?

- Wherever a progressive is running for office—whether Marcantonio in New York, or Kenny in California or Ordower in Illinois—are you in the fight behind him NOW?
- Wherever an American's rights and livelihood are being endangered—whether a post office clerk or a Communist functionary or a school teacher—are you in the fight to defend him?
- Wherever a voice is raised to break the peace of the world—whether it's in the Congress, in your lodge, in your home—are you speaking out against it?

Do not be disheartened by the vulgar shambles Harry Truman and the Washington clowns are making of America; do not forget that you are living in the springtime of the human race. Be glad, this spring, that you can still fight—and fight hard for better springs to come, when the cup of freedom shall be full again.

—THE EDITORS

A welcome for the Dean "Down Under"

In the face of an American-style witch-hunt, the Australian Peace Congress was a splendid success. From England came the Dean of Canterbury to get a roaring welcome from thousands of Australians. From the U. S. came Fred Stover, president of the Iowa Farmers Union, and Rev. Joseph H. Fletcher of the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge. (See p. 4).

WHAT MAKES WALTER RUN?

The rise of Reuther— the real UAW story

PAGE 8

IN THIS ISSUE

Advertisements 6-7
Calendar 7
Detroit: Housing 8
Dollar Stretcher 7
Letters to Editor 2
Movies: J. Lenauer 6
President's tour 3
Report to Readers 2
Roundup of News 3-5
Supreme Court 3

'Beliefs are inviolate': Justice Black vs. Truman's Supreme Court

AS the Court admits even today, under the First Amendment "Beliefs are inviolate."

Today's decision rejects that fundamental principle.

The Court assures us that today's encroachment on liberty is just a small one, that this particular statutory provision "touches only a handful of persons, leaving the great majority of persons of the identified affiliations and beliefs completely free from restraint." But not the least of the virtues of the First Amendment is its protection of each member of the smallest and most unorthodox minority. Centuries of experience testify that laws aimed at one political group, however rational in their beginnings, generate hatreds and prejudices which rapidly spread beyond control.

JUSTICE BLACK

Never before has this Court held that the Government could for any any reason attaint persons for their political beliefs or affiliations. It does so today.

Today the "political affiliation" happens to be the Communist Party: testimony of an ex-Communist that some Communist union officers had called "political strikes" is held sufficient to uphold a law coercing union members not to elect any Communist as an officer. Under this reasoning, affiliations with other political parties could be proscribed just as validly.

So clearly is the statement (left) a proper interpretation of basic American principles that the GUARDIAN identifies it with more shame than pride. The shame is for the three Supreme Court Justices (Vinson, Reed, Burton) who wholly concurred, and the two (Jackson, Frankfurter) who partly concurred in the majority opinion May 8 upholding as constitutional the Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath. The pride is for Justice Hugo L. Black, from whose one-man minority opinion the statement is excerpted. Ed.

IT is indicated, although the opinion is not thus limited and is based on threats to commerce rather than to national security, that members of the Communist Party or its "affiliates" can be individually attainted without danger to others because there is some evidence that as a group they act in obedience to the commands of a foreign power. This was the precise reason given in Sixteenth-Century England for attainting all Catholics unless they subscribed to test oaths wholly incompatible with their religion. Yet in the hour of crisis, an overwhelming majority of the English Catholics thus persecuted rallied loyally to defend their homeland against Spain and its Catholic troops. And in our own country Jefferson and his followers were earnestly accused of subversive allegiance to France.

Like anyone else, individual Communists who commit overt acts in violation of valid laws can and should be punished. But the postulate of the First Amendment is that our free institutions can be maintained without proscribing or penalizing political belief, speech, assmbly, or party affiliation. This is a far bolder philosophy than despotic rulers can afford to follow. It is the heart of the system on which our freedom depends.

FEARS of alien ideologies have frequently agitated the nation and inspired legislation aimed at suppressing advocacy of those ideologies. At such times the fog of public excitement obscures the ancient landmarks set up in our Bill of Rights. Yet then, of all times, should this Court adhere most closely to the course they mark. This was done in **DeJonge v. Oregon**, 299 U. S. 353, 365, where the Court struck down a state statute making it a crime to participate in a meeting conducted by Communists. It had been stipulated that the Communist Party advocated violent overthrow of the Government. Speaking through Chief Justice Hughes, a unanimous Court calmly announced time-honored principles that should govern this Court today:

"The greater the importance of safeguarding the community from incitements to the overthrow of our institutions by force and violence, the more imperative is the need to preserve inviolate the constitutional rights of free speech, free press and free assembly in order to maintain the opportunity for free political discussion, to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people and that changes, if desired, may be obtained by peaceful means. Therein lies the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government."

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone WOrth 4-1750.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. and possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $2 a year. All other countries, $3 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 5c. Re-entered as second class matter March 17, 1950, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Executive Editor*

EDITORIAL: Elmer Bendiner, Barney Conal, Lawrence Emery, Tabitha Petran. ART: R. Joyce. ADVERTISING: Robert E. Light, Regina S. Oshlag. BUSINESS and PROMOTION: Leon Summit. SUBSCRIPTION and CIRCULATION: George Evans. National representatives for advertising and circulation: CHICAGO: Ruth Miller, c/o Progressive Party, 170 W. Washington St., RAndolph 6-9270. LOS ANGELES: Hannah Baker, 2294 Alcyona Dr., HIlside 5230.

Vol. 2, No. 25 — MAY 17, 1950

THE MAILBAG

Unrestrained insanity

STAUNTON, VA.

Mental Health magazine says that a national mental health foundation is America's No. 1 problem. Is it possible that America's unrestrained capitalism is producing a nation of nuts?

T. Y. Steptoe
Western State Hospital

What better job?

ST. LOUIS, MO.

A friend of mine in New Mexico sent us the most wonderful gift—a sub to the GUARDIAN. We have six children and not very much money, considering the cost of living, but even more important than material possessions are the contributions we can make toward peace and brotherhood.

What better job can you or I do than teach our children, all children, to fight for freedom from the many chains that hold so many of us back from our full potentialities for peace and security?

Gloria Martin

Pact and purpose

RICHMOND, CALIF.

For several issues now Max Werner has been hammering away at the military shortsightedness of the North Atlantic Pact. His columns have suffered from one serious blindness, namely, a failure to see or to announce clearly that the Pact and its arms implementation were not and are not meant to build defense against the fanciful threat of Soviet aggression.

Let it be clearly understood that the shipment of arms to western Europe is a preparation for an all-out attempt to suppress the powerful communist and left-socialist movements within the countries of western Europe, especially France and Italy. The long-run objective is undoubtedly a war against the U. S. S. R., but the suppression of the communist movements in western Europe is a necessary precondition to the realization of that goal. And the cold warriors of Washington evidently believe that machine guns can solve the grave social problems that have given rise to such powerful communist movements in western Europe. David Joravsky

We agree that this point needs to be made, but perhaps it is not Max Werner's function as a military analyst to make it. Many acute readers no doubt reach the same conclusion as Mr. Joravsky from Werner's devastating exposes of the military hollowness of the "defense" program. Ed.

Agnes Smedley

NEW YORK, N. Y.

How particular a loss to the U. S. is Agnes Smedley. I knew her in organizations, never intimately. I always admired her partisan (in the largest sense of the word) fierceness. When I saw the caption under her photograph in the paper, "Aided Chinese Reds," what surged up in me overwhelmingly was: Every day is Nadir Day in U. S. A.

On the same day appeared this eye-witness account in the N. Y. Herald Tribune of an incident in New York's Loyalty Day parade: "I saw two Legionnaires slugging a man and yelling 'Dirty Communist!' Although the man had fallen on the pavement and offered no resistance, the two kept on punching his already bloodied face. They seized the leaflets he had been distributing and scattered them all over the street. I picked up a leaflet and found that it was clearly not Communist."

Dorothy Butler Howells

The California oath

BERKELEY, CALIF.

In connection with the "compromise" loyalty-oath formula for faculty members accepted by U. of California Regents: it is disheartening that progressive publications have not given appropriate play to the implications of the controversy. The "compromise" contract not only retains the deadly features of the loyalty oath—a hiring policy based on political test and guilt by association—but also lays the foundation for a faculty loyalty-review board at the University. Non-signers of the odious contract thus might well find themselves required to prove their innocence—a feature of such boards now evident.

The overwhelming majority of Academic Senate members approved of this hiring policy in a secret ballot during March. Only the Non-Senate Academic Employees — a courageous group of lecturers, teaching and research assistants — a relatively few Senate members, and a student United Action Committee for Academic Freedom have consistently opposed the oath and new "compromise" — on principle, the real crux of the matter.

Banker and ex-U. of C. regent L. M. Giannini in protesting the "compromise" not only talked of "flags flying from the Kremlin" but added: "I want to organize 20th century vigilantes, who will unearth Communists and communism in all their sordid aspects, and I will, if necessary." (S. F. Chronicle, Apr. 21).

Albert Levy
Student, U. of C.

The awakening

BALTIMORE, MD.

Our "Bootstrap" meeting was held Monday night. One thing was

universally agreed to in our talks. The GUARDIAN has definitely not received the attention it warrants. This being true of Baltimore, I am sure that it is also the case in other areas. The meeting represented a faint beginning in the direction of building a progressive press in this city based on the understanding that an alive and fighting press is a prerequisite for any political movement. The reactionaries seem to understand this point very well.

Milton Bates

Isn't there one . . . ?

HERSHEY, PA.

I am enclosing five subscriptions for the GUARDIAN. I feel the GUARDIAN is an important paper, and I know truth hurts, but one person to whom I gave a subscription said she never read the paper because it left her feeling too depressed.

Isn't there one good judge; one place in the South, or North, where Negroes are treated as human beings; one honest politician whose purpose is serving the people; one big business which gives its employees an opportunity of being something more than a robot? I think it is important that we know about good as well as evil. Most of us need patterns, and I feel it is in your province to supply us with them so that we can repair the evil. We need to be told in black and white what we must do to bring about a spiritual awakening.

Can't you tell us about the vast work done by the American Friends Service Committee and the opportunity it offers for any one to join in their efforts by arranging conferences in local communities, by teen agers and adults helping in their work projects all over the world?

Let's have a page of "What Can and Is Being Done." Ella Hanford

For F. O. Matthiessen

WATERTOWN, N. Y.

This $100 contribution is in memory of Prof. Matthiessen of Harvard—a noble citizen, whose tragic death has saddened us all.

Anonymous

The Superior Way

BRISBANE, CALIF.

How superior is the "American Way?" In the San Francisco Chronicle I read this on just one aspect:

"San Francisco's nationally-recognized VD control program faced sharp curtailment yesterday in the fact of cuts in the budget. . . . Even now, with the rate down to 531 per 100,000, that's still 29% higher than the national rate of 413. . . . In Sweden the rate is down to five cases of syphilis per 100,000." Louise H. Horr

Canasta made easy

EL PASO, TEX.

Enclosed find $3 to help the GUARDIAN. This was collected from a group of Canasta fans at 25c a person per evening. Perhaps this idea might find a response from other readers.

Mrs. N. J. Kern

We DO get around

BYRON, ILL.

Recently you printed a letter of mine in your paper. I am receiving now letters from 12 states. It will be impossible for me to answer each one personally. Would you thank the writers for me?

Claud Conger

Bulletin for Peace

MATTAPAN, MASS.

An idea came to me: Set up one page in each issue in the form of a bulletin board sheet dealing with the news of the fight for Peace. Ask the readers to post that page on bulletin boards in their clubhouses, union halls and shops, in subway stations and store windows —whereves possible.

The "boycott of Peace" by the commercial press cannot be overcome unless we go into the streets and byways with the news.

Ben Buckler

Pay off the debt

PAROWAN, UTAH

If all the people in the U. S., at 60 years of age, were granted a pension of $75 per month or more, and were given the privilege of living in low-rent federal housing projects, their rent would go to the government, and would eventually pay off the national debt.

Olive Carroll

Paranoia in Washington

CHICAGO, ILL.

As the cold war becomes warmer, it becomes much easier to get subscriptions to the GUARDIAN. I enclose four. The people are terribly concerned over the bungling and hysteria which daily are causing us to lose friends the world over and bringing us tragically closer to the possibility of war. They are frightened at the hysterical and paranoiac symptoms of the little men in Washington and the disgraceful character assassination of fine Americans which could well lead to all of us losing our personal liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

Dr. Louis A. Terman

Report to readers

That jubilee in Chicago was for the Guardian

CHICAGO

LAST week in Chicago was GUARDIAN week as far as we are concerned. It was also the scene of President Truman's wind-up of his swing around the dams and projects built by FDR, ending with a televised Cabinet meeting and a wingding at Soldier's Field. It depended entirely on where you sat, which series of events had the edge on the other—ours or the President's.

We had a half dozen meetings throughout the week, all in the balmy weather of Chicago's first recognizable spell of spring. And on the last evening, while a cold, Republican fog swept in off Lake Michigan to chill the Democrats, this GUARDIAN traveler sat snugly in a Republican-proof Lake Shore home enjoying a tiptop spaghetti dinner with a roomful of GUARDIAN friends.

ALL in all, our Chicago week must be accounted a big success. Jennings Perry came up from Nashville and Charlie Howard (keynoter of the Wallace convention in Philadelphia in 1948) drove over from Des Moines. The three of us shared the platform at two public meetings with Prof. Curtis MacDougall of Northwestern and Messrs. Harold Rosen and Boris Steinberg of Chicago.

Mr. Perry had to get back to his beloved TVA country to preside over the grand opening of May down there; and Mr. Howard had to get back to his Iowa law practice. The rest of us stayed the full week; attended an overflow meeting of the Cook County Progressive Party central committee; drove down to Lemont, Ill., to make the acquaintance of Mrs. Mary Phillips Buckner, the one-woman peace movement whose epochal letter to President Truman against the H-bomb last January has now reached 22,000 reprints.

Back in Chicago I talked with literally hundreds of GUARDIAN boosters from all parts of the far-flung city. The GUARDIAN is steeply on the build in Chicago. There are teams of "spark-plugs" doing a job in every ward of the city. New subscriptions and renewals are flocking in and new numbers of merchants are perking up to the potentialities of the GUARDIAN as a means of advertising their wares to the most buywise consumers in town.

DURING the week, we picked up leads on several interesting stories for the future (including more news about Lemont's vivacious peace crusader, Mary Phillips Buckner). In closing we have the space for just this morsel:

That 200% American town of Mosinee, Wis., where the Legion crowd staged their mock Communist putsch on May Day, bars Negroes in its everyday life except for a two-hour limit in which to conduct their business and get moving.

Yours for a GUARDIAN week in Mosinee,

John T. McManus

The law of the jungle is cooperation

MOST people assume that the law of the jungle requires: Kill or be killed. By extension to the common affairs of man, the law has been paraphrased to read, "Competition is the life of trade." Rugged individualism, aggressiveness, warfare have been thought to be the natural tendencies throughout the animal kingdom, a kingdom in which man considers himself the supreme expression.

A great deal of modern research indicates strongly that the law of the jungle is not the law of tooth and claw but the very opposite—cooperation. Facts and figures come close to showing that we have been 100% wrong. The truth seems to be that nature adheres to the principles of the highest ethics; the Golden Rule is sound biology!

Examples of animal cooperation are legion:

● Notoriously savage African elephants, for example, have often been observed to stop beside wounded comrades and laboriously lift them with tusks and trunks when the so-called law of self-preservation should have driven them to seek escape from danger.

● Chimpanzees, popularly regarded as highly self-centered, regularly help each other carry heavy loads, pass food to each other through the bars of cages.

● Prof. Ashley Montagu, professor of anthropology at Rutgers, reports experiments in which kittens who saw mother cats kill rats grew up to become rat killers. But kittens deprived of their mothers, and reared from birth with rats, instinctively lived at peace with their rat cagemates. Zing Y. Kuo, the Chinese scientist who made the experiments, concluded: "If one insists that the cat has an instinct to kill the rat, I must add that it has an instinct to love the rat, too."

SCIENCE points out that cooperation is the mechanism by which every new individual is formed, whether sexually or asexually. Cooperation is the means by which it keeps alive through the first precarious stages of existence. Cooperation is as basic to its nature as hostility.

What is the basis of the cooperative urge? Montagu declares: "The answer is that the social nature of all living things has its origin in the relationship between offspring and parent —the fact that the one is for a time dependent on the other."

Science reaches the conclusion that the ethical idea of love is no artificial creation of philosophers but is rooted in the biological structure of man. To love thy neighbor as thyself is not only religion's edict but nature's as well. Men who act in disregard of this principle are actually warring against their own bodies.

Here is a conclusion fraught with great significance for mankind. It turns the weight of science against all advocates of separatism, isolationism, aggressive individualism. And it brands the theories of the hate mongers not merely as immoral but as unnatural as well.

Based on the article "Social Instincts," in the April issue of "Scientific American."

ROUNDUP

THE LAW

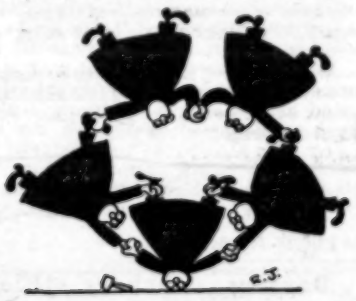
High Court decides: freedom un-American

THE "legal" basis for a police state run by big business was laid down in Washington last week by the Supreme Court.

In a sweeping series of decisions, couched in language at times reminiscent of the Mundt-Nixon bill, the Court hit at the rights of labor and Negro citizens and the civil liberties of all under the Bill of Rights. The Court:

- Junked the First Amendment—by upholding the non-Communist oath provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law.
- Upheld unconstitutional powers exercised by the House Un-American Activities Committee—by reversing the Court of Appeals to restore the contempt conviction of two Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee officials.
- Forbade picketing against jimcrow employment practices; upheld the right of city authorities to ban movies which present Negroes with dignity.
- Gave encouragement to "runaway shops" (plants moving to more "favorable" areas to avoid unionization) by upholding a ban on picketing in organizing drives.

THE ONE JUST MAN: Justice Hugo Black was the sole liberal with courage to resist the current hysteria (see p. 1). The press ignored his minority opinion standing firm for the First Amendment as written. In his majority opinion Chief Justice Vinson stood the



First Amendment on its head by interpreting it to mean that Congress can abridge freedom of speech and press so long as the abridgement is "indirect, conditional, partial."

Justices Clark, Minton and Douglas (who was ill when the case was argued) did not participate in the Taft-Hartley decision. Justices Frankfurter and Jackson strung along with the Truman-appointed mediocrities who are cutting the Supreme Court down to Un-American Committee size.

In an opinion concurring with the majority, Jackson found the Communist Party "a conspiracy" and a "foreign agent." As Chief U.S. prosecutor of the Nazi war criminals at Nuremberg, Jackson pointed out the disastrous consequences to democracy that follow acceptance of this fascist concept.

The Taft-Hartley oath decision outlawed "political strikes." Every worker knows that few strikes escape the "political" label. The test cases were brought originally by two CIO unions. A CIO spokesman said an immediate appeal for a re-hearing would be filed.

"UPHOLD THE LAW": Americans were not taking the government and court assault on their liberties lying down. Many recalled the words of Henry David Thoreau: "They are the lovers of law and order who uphold the law when the government breaks it." Forty prominent Americans went to Lake Success last week to appeal to the UN Commission on Human Rights. The international body was asked to investigate sentences imposed on 25 U.S. citizens cited for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The appeal said in part:

> "The consistent refusal of the U.S. Supreme Court so far to review these cases has left us with no further legal remedy at home in the fight to preserve basic liberties and basic rights from destruction at the hands of an inquisitorial body determined to make freedom of discussion dangerous in the U.S."

Signers included Corliss Lamont, I. F. Stone, Clifford Odets, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Larkin Marshall, Father Clarence Parker, and Louis Untermeyer.

HOW FIXED THE STAR? At the same time another group of 81 distinguished citizens petitioned the Supreme Court for a re-hearing of the case of the Hollywood Ten, sentenced to jail for contempt of the Un-American Activities Committee in refusing to discuss their politics. The petition quoted the majority Court decision handed down by Justice Jackson a few years ago, affirming the right to speak or remain silent:

> "If there is any fixed star in our Constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion or matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

Signers of the petition included Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Pierre van Paassen, Rev. John H. Lathrop, Rabbi J. X. Cohen, E. Haldeman-Julius, Scott Nearing, John Lardner, Arthur Miller, Clifford Odets and Albert Deutsch.

Systematic persecution

The National Lawyers Guild, meeting in New York, dedicated its 10th annual convention to mapping a program to preserve civil rights in America. The convention warned:

> "Every branch of government, federal and state, has systematically committed practices abridging free speech, press, assembly and other related rights... while public officials pretend that the Bill of Rights remain inviolate and constitutional liberties undisturbed."

The lawyers condemned "improper operations of the FBI;" demanded repeal of the Smith Act under which the 11 Communist leaders were convicted; pledged full aid to lawyers facing jail for defense of victims of the cold war hysteria. Elected president of the Guild was Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of Yale Law School.

DENNIS: Communist leader Eugene Dennis, sentenced in 1947 to a year in prison for contempt of the House Un-American Committee, began serving his term behind bars May 12. Dennis, who acted as his own counsel in his trial with other Communist leaders under the Smith Act, was thus prevented from active work on his appeal. The Circuit Court of Appeals set June 21-23 as the dates for the hearing of argument on the appeal of the 11.

WAR AGAINST THE IWO: The government set out to smash the International Workers Order, a thriving fraternal and insurance benefit society, with the arrest for deportation of Sam Milgrom, executive secretary, and the serving of a deportation warrant on Andrew Dmytryshyn.

MOTHER'S DAY: For two years and four months Mrs. Emma English has hoped and waited for her son to come home. He is Collis English, one of the Trenton Six whose death sentences for a murder they did not commit were reversed by the state Supreme Court 11 months ago but who still are in jail awaiting a new trial, indefinitely postponed. Saturday night friends and neighbors gave Mrs. English a Mother's Day party; the Congress of American Women named her the Mother of the Year.

THOMAS I. EMERSON
He'll lead the lawyers.

MOTHER OF THE YEAR
Mrs. English with William L. Patterson, Civil Rights Congress director.

THE DANIELS CASE: A court refusal to review the appeal of Bennie and Lloyd Ray Daniels, Negro youths of Greenville, N. C., under death sentences for a murder they didn't commit, dismayed their friends and supporters momentarily. But the Daniels Defense Committee announced that another legal channel is still open and the fight will go on through a federal district court. The Committee said:

"The case is definitely not ended. No matter what the cost, we are determined to see that these innocent boys shall not die." The Committee's address: P. O. Box 1601, Durham, N. C.

McCARTHY CIRCUS

Catholic Senator denounces Budenz

SEN. Joseph McCarthy's witch-hunt paused for a breather while investigators waited for the 81 State Dept. files which the President had promised to hand over.

But McCarthy's opponents took the offensive with a devastating attack by Sen. Dennis Chavez (D-N.M.) on McCarthy's star witness, Louis Budenz. Chavez, speaking "as a Roman Catholic" for the first time in his 19 years in Congress, said:

> "My ancestors brought the Cross to this hemisphere. Louis Budenz has been using the Cross as a club. . . . When I feel that the Church which I revere is being used by an individual as a shield and a cloak to protect the purveyor of un-American, un-Christian, dubious testimony, I am compelled to identify what is going on and protest not only as a Catholic but as an American."

Budenz, Chavez pointed out, had been arrested 21 times before he became a Communist, was guilty of big-army, and was "testifying wherever he has the opportunity, reveling in every minute of his new-found prosperity and respectability."

HEDGING HIERARCHY: To Budenz's defense came the president of Fordham University, where Budenz is professor of economics. Rev. Lawrence J. McGinley, S. J., said Chavez was guilty of a "vicious offense against Christian charity."

The Church hierarchy seemed ready to move in either direction on Budenz, who was re-converted to Catholicism when he renounced communism. Its position was not unlike that taken some years ago toward Father Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit, who was denounced by Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago but continues to this day as a priest of the Church in good standing.

THE NATION

THE ROAD SHOW

Truman tours— Fair Deal fades

IT was a low-level performance; the President's whistle-stop tour promised so many things to so many men that even the N. Y. Times exclaimed: "Only a politician can ride two horses that are going in opposite directions."

In one speech Truman praised peace, boasted of dropping A-bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, threatened: "I would do it again if I have to." In Washington Drew Pearson wrote that Truman's "political barometer is the lowest since . . . 1946."

A headline in the Pittsburgh Courier (leading Negro newspaper) gave one reason for its low state: "FEPC Bill Up Again, Truman Gone Again!" The President took off on his 6,000-mile, 16-state tour just as the Senate was to take up his promised Fair Employment Practices Commission bill. A bloc of his own party was organized to filibuster it to death; his own lieutenants didn't fight to head them off. On Wednesday, after two days of gentle stalling, FEPC was sidetracked.

FADING FAIR DEAL: As Mr. Truman spoke for a continuance of federal rent controls, Chairman Maybank (D-S. C.) of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee called off rent control hearings. As he vowed a fight to the finish against the Taft-Hartley Law, Vice President Barkley told the Steelworkers convention in Atlantic City it

Afro-American, Baltimore
Both guilty, but neither will take the blame.

was unlikely this Congress would even act to repeal the law.

Sen. Glen Taylor (D-Idaho), up for re-election, made a quick switch to full support of the European Recovery Program, then announced the White House had asked him to ride across his state on the Presidential train. Truman said he'd given no invitation. The train rolled through Idaho without Taylor; but the Senator did shake hands with the President at Boise.

TEAPOT AND TIDELANDS: In Casper, Wyo., Truman referred to Teapot Dome, 50 miles away, as the symbol of "greed and privilege." But back in Washington the U. S. Supreme Court had a "suggestion" from former Interior Secy. Ickes to look into a bigger oil steal than Teapot Dome had been.

The story: in 1947 the court ruled that the federal government owned the rich oil deposits under tideland waters off the coast of California. The U. S. Attorney General's office promptly scuttled the decision by "stipulating" that the State of California could continue leasing tideland oil to private companies, just as it had always done. Latest transaction under the "stipulations": two Standard Oil satellites got rich awards although they had been outbid by two other companies.

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

PITCH ON THE COAST: On the West Coast Truman plumped heavily for more public power and statehood for Hawaii and Alaska as a cold war move for "security." At recent Washington hearings Secy. of the Interior Oscar Chapman urged admission of Hawaii as part of the worldwide fight against communism.

A junketing House Committee on Un-American Activities had just been to Honolulu to stop a "Red Pearl Harbor," in the words of Chairman Walter (D-Pa.). With its hearings, the committee has injured some individuals, smeared many more, disrupted the Statehood Convention going on at the time, split the Hawaiian Democratic Party in two, cited 39 persons for contempt of Congress. Its main target: Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

CHICAGO JUBILEE: Sunday night the Presidential party rolled into Chicago where the Democrats were staging a three-day "Jefferson Jubilee" featuring the first public meeting of the Cabinet ever held. But spring had come to the city and the ball game outdrew the political spectacle. Top billing was given to a Civil Rights panel, but most Southern Democrats boycotted it. One who didn't, North Carolina National Committeeman Jonathan W. Daniels, took the floor to announce that FEPC shall not pass: "You cannot have a prohibition law against discrimination in the South."

The President came to Chicago from Wisconsin; he had stumped the state without uttering a word of criticism of its junior Sen. McCarthy. In Madison anti-war placards greeted him at his biggest rally.

THE WORLD

The Big 3 decide: more cold war

ON the fifth anniversary of V-E Day, Secy. of State Acheson departed for London to confer with Britain's Bevin and France's Schuman on maintaining and intensifying the cold war against Russia. The growing problems of how to achieve this included bringing Western Germany into the western alliance; preserving western colonial empires in Asia; patching up serious differences among the western allies.

What Acheson faced, commented GUARDIAN's military-political analyst Max Werner, was "a very deep crisis of western Europe." Referring to recent statements by French military expert Gen. Billotte, who is close to Premier Bidault and reaches similar conclusions, Werner wrote:

> Messrs. Paul Hoffman and Acheson are preaching western European unity, while West European politicians tell the Americans why this unity is unworkable. . . . The European strategists of the cold war say frankly that the entire job must be done by American power—or else. The "or else" means a western European policy of neutrality as the alternative to an American-led Atlantic Federation. Billotte presents to Sec. Acheson the bill for "total diplomacy"—a yearly military budget of 55 billion dollars. . . . Cold war turns out to be an operation for which even American resources are inadequate.

OUR NEW BABY: The size of the problem did not seem to discourage Acheson. In Paris, his first stop, where he was greeted by anti-war demonstrators, he promised direct financial aid for France's $500,000,000-a-year

colonial war against the Viet Nam Republic. In London he urged the West to welcome renazified Western Germany into the "family of western civilization."

After three days' discussion the conference ended with the announcement that it intended to do just that; but how it was to be done, whether or not to rearm Germany—these and other vital questions were left to the experts. The three ministers also announced they intended to halt communism in Southeast Asia and to devote themselves to the "political development" of the peoples of Africa.

THE HAND OF MORGAN: Conference accomplishments seemed to add up to zero. But a proposal made by the French government to "pool" the French and German steel and coal industries—or as the **Wall St. Journal** said to create "a gigantic international steel and coal cartel"—indicated that big business was getting down to brass tacks behind the scenes.

The proposal was not new: in the 1920's the French and German steel trusts got together on a similar scheme. Today's plan which has been in the works since 1947 would put Rockefeller's Chase National Bank and the Morgan interests—which direct the destinies of German heavy industry—in control of the cartelized heavy industry of western Europe. Britain greeted the French proposal with icy reserve: the plan suggested a U.S.-directed alignment of western Europe against Britain. Press reports hinted the price of British participation in the proposed huge combine was the downfall of the Labor government.

A mission of sanity

The Big Three conference failed to resolve U.S.-British differences and showed that the U.S. could not now mount a political offensive in the cold war. The eyes of the world were not on London but on Moscow, where UN Secretary General Trygve Lie was talking to Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky and his deputy Andrei Gromyko, and Gunnar Myrdal, Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, was trying to promote East-West trade.

The Lie mission to find bases for ending the cold war was virtually ignored by the U.S. press, but in western Europe it was treated as the most important event of the year. In London, Beaverbrook's **Daily Express** editorially approved it. Prime Minister Attlee, revealing a "confidential" discussion he had with Lie, hinted in Parliament that a new approach to atomic

Daily Worker, London

"Please, Mr. Truman, can Alfie have margarine on his toast?"

energy control was in the making. France signed a trade treaty with Czechoslovakia — an important step toward increase of East-West trade.

THEY WON'T FIGHT: As the ministers of the 12 Atlantic Pact nations gathered in London for a meeting this week, even the U. S. press was forced to report that western Europe does not want to fight in a U.S.-Russian war. The N.Y. **Times** said western Europe's attitude to U.S. policies was one of "disquietude" or "resignation." The Hearst papers featured a series by its ace foreign correspondent Kingsbury Smith, which admitted that western Europe wouldn't fight.

But the press of the western world continued to ignore the people's peace movement which is gathering strength everywhere. In Australia—a country with a total population less than that of N.Y. City—15,000 had jammed the Melbourne Peace Congress sessions last month. Denied use of any hall in Sidney, the Congress delegates drew 30,000 people to the Domain park which the authorities had soaked beforehand so it was a sea of mud.

FUTILE BLOCKADE: Fred Stover, president of the Iowa Farmers Union and co-chairman of the Progressive Party, and Rev. Joseph Fletcher of the Episcopalian Divinity School, Cambridge, amazed and delighted crowds all over Australia with the information that many Americans like themselves were in the peace fight in the U.S.

The Australian press hung a blanket of silence over their presence in the country. Everywhere the authorities tried to block the meetings.

When the Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, "Red" Dean of Canterbury, a guest at the Australian Peace rallies, tried to get to Canada to attend the Canadian Peace Congress in Toronto, the U.S. refused him transit visas for San Francisco and Honolulu. The Canadian press reported the Dean wouldn't show up. He came—via London—to address a mass meeting of some 10,000.

While the highly successful Canadian Peace Conference, attended by 1,500 delegates from the Dominion, was in session, the Montreal Anglican Synod called for banning the use of the A-Bomb, as did the Parent Teachers Federation of British Columbia.

PAKISTAN PREMIER

Won't play witches

THE three-year-old state of Pakistan is that part (or rather two parts, 1,000 miles apart) of old India where most of the Moslems live. Last week Liaquat Ali Khan, plump Premier of 18,000,000 Pakistanis, was on a whirlwind tour of the U.S. with his wife, the Begum.

To top Washington officials and businessmen he made no secret of his desire to get whatever aid he can for his country. Banking circles considered Pakistan a good investment: it is rich in agricultural resources, produces 75% of the world's jute.

THE $64 QUESTION: As with India's Premier Nehru, who preceded him last November, reporters buzzed around Liaquat trying to get him on the record about "communism." When the question came up Liaquat replied with a sadly humorous twinkle: "I haven't taken a census yet (in Pakistan), but when I do I'll take it about all 'isms'." The reporters scampered to telephones and dictated: "Will take census of Communists. . . ."

Liaquat strongly condemned Herbert Hoover's proposal to remake the UN without Communist members. He would not commit Pakistan to joining an anti-Communist Pacific Pact.

A THOUGHT FOR THE WOMEN: While he talked business, the Begum (known as the "dynamo in silks"; she is credited with pulling Pakistani women out of seclusion) lectured to clubs and visited welfare centers. "Polygamy" was the theme of questions fired at her everywhere.

The Begum explained that polygamy had its roots in the need to give security to women whose men were killed in wars. She suggested there might be something to be said for "having it all legally in the open. . . . Look at your Western men, and what's going on in fifty places at the same time."

NEW YORK

"GET MARC"

Brown joins gang-up

LAST year Negro Democrat Earl Brown was elected to the City Council in a three-party (Democratic, Republican, Liberal) gang-up against incumbent Negro Communist leader Benjamin Davis, Jr. Last week Brown joined a move for a similar gang-up against American Labor Party Congressman Vito Marcantonio. To Harlem labor leader Ferdinand Smith, Brown's action was a "moral and civic outrage."

A CIO-AFL political committee, headed by CIO City Council secretary Morris Iushewitz, also urged a coalition against Marcantonio. The ALP promptly dubbed its action a "pipsqueak attack", reminded trade unionists that Marcantonio single-handedly staved off a total sell-out on the Taft-Hartley Act while CIO and AFL lobbyists were seeking compromise deals on the issue.

Marcantonio went ahead with a Saturday conference of all persons interested in breaking a "Tammany plot to keep the General Sessions a lily-white court." He also wrote to President Truman urging the appointment of a Negro judge to New York's U.S. District Court.

WITCH-HUNTS

Doctors, teachers stiffen

THOUSANDS of new angry voices had been brought into the chorus of protest against political witch-hunts by the firing of Shepherd Carl Thierman, brilliant young surgical interne, from Brooklyn's Kings County Hospital after a two-hour quiz on his political beliefs (GUARDIAN, May 10). For the first time ever, medical men were being purged for politics.

New York's school teachers had been hit earlier and harder. Eight of them, all leaders or active members of the Teachers Union, were under suspension; they too had been grilled on their politics, had refused to answer questions without counsel. But they would get a hearing, at some indefinite date in the future. Meantime the union would pay their salaries. A rally in their defense was set for June 2 in Carnegie Hall. The union gave a broad name to its campaign for them: "Fight for Free Schools."

One episode in a Bronx courtroom showed how rough the fight was getting. Housewife Edna Reiter had witnessed a high school student demonstration for teachers' pay increase. She had shouted at a cop: "Stop hitting the boys. Let them go." For that she was fined $50 by a magistrate who said of the demonstrating students: "You mean these misguided little children with felonious hearts?

RELIEF CUTS

"Unjust, unnecessary"

IN January Welfare Commissioner Raymond Hilliard cut food allowances for New York City's relief clients, stubbornly defended the cuts as just and necessary. But militant protests forced Mayor O'Dwyer to appoint a 15-mem-

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

ber committee to check into them. Their finding: unjust and unnecessary.

Last week Hilliard moved for a partial restoration of the cuts in "certain categories." The fight for full restoration would go on.

Meanwhile welfare officials were huddling behind closed doors to work out a new system of work relief on city projects. It was estimated that more than 20,000 on home relief would be eligible for an order to go out within 30 days: Work or Starve.

PHONE RATE HIKE

Nickel goes to museum

SINCE January, 1949, the N.Y. State Public Service Commission pondered a N.Y. Telephone Co. (AT&T) bid for a boost in rates. Last week it handed the company a jackpot: an 11% increase to start this week, a 100% increase from a nickel to a dime for coin-box calls beginning Jan. 1. Total hike: $48,490,000.

The company's 12-month profits ending March 31, 1950, were $33,067,628, which was $5,640,304 greater than the preceding year. Its profits for the first three months of this year are double those of last. Consumer protests were just reaching a crescendo by the end of the week; by next week they promised to be deafening. Mayor O'Dwyer, taking heed, hinted court action to stop the grab. The American Labor Party planned a bang-up battle.

●

Q. What can you still buy for a nickel?

A. NATIONAL GUARDIAN — "the world's best paper" (Fred Stover, President, Iowa Farmers Union).

CHICAGO

HOUSING

Mayor ducks as deadline nears

WITH an Aug. 1 deadline drawing near, Chicago last week stood in clear danger of ending up without a desperately-needed public housing program, and most of the blame was attaching to Mayor Kennelly.

The goal is 12,000 units; the ideal method is to build first on vacant land, later clear out slums and build there. Powerful real estate interests oppose this procedure. The Chicago Housing Authority compromised with a plan to build half on vacant land, half on slum-cleared land. The City Council rejected that.

A second plan was too inadequate to submit to the Council; a third, offered to the Housing Authority on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, was so weak that most public housing supporters decided not to take it but to continue the fight. A Council meeting to consider it was so packed with friends and enemies of public housing that councilmen ducked again and deferred action. The Mayor appointed an "expediter" to handle the mess, then left town for a three-day Conference of Mayors in New York.

While he was gone Progressive Party ward clubs carried on round-the-clock activities to muster support for an adequate program. The showdown couldn't be put off much longer.

On other Chicago fronts:

WHITE VIOLENCE: Joseph Beauharnais, founder and head of the White Circle League which advocates use of violence to keep the U.S. "a white man's country," was convicted of circulating literature defaming the Negro people. His punishment: a $200 fine. He has appealed.

SUBMARINES! Chicagoans were given more war-jitters: four secret radar screens to protect the city will be built in northern Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa. Cost: from $500,000 to $1,000,000 each. Said the Chicago **Sun-Times:** "It was reported the screen is designed to protect the important Argonne National Laboratory in Du Page County near Chicago. The Navy has announced that the world's first atomic submarine is being designed there."

"STRIDENT RACIAL GROUPS": Col. Robert R. McCormick, who has long waged a private war against New York City, was fresh out of all patience with the metropolis. Student demonstrations and the pelting of a visiting German soccer team as "Nazis" prompted him to ask editorially in his Chicago **Tribune:** "Will it be necessary for the federal government to take over government of the lawless city?" Seeking an explanation for the "continued disorders in New York," he came up with this: "Every racial group [there] except Americans has been encouraged by politicians to press its alien claims stridently."

WEST COAST

Campus fight spreads

A CITIZENS' group decided last week to make a public issue of the fight for academic freedom at the University of California, where all employes are now required to sign disavowals of any intent to overthrow the government. Faculty members fought for a year, finally lost by accepting a compromise that turned out to be as bad as the original demand for a special oath. (See U. of C. student's letter, "The California Oath," p. 2).

At a meeting in Berkeley plans were made to publish and circulate literature on the case, to conduct a series of radio programs, and to muster moral and financial support for faculty members who refuse to sign the declaration.

Elsewhere in California:

NEW ATOMIC "RED": A State Senate Un-American Activities Committee heard a charge that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, who headed the atomic research laboratory at Los Alamos, N.M., during the war, attended a closed Communist Party meeting in Berkeley in 1941. Dr. Oppenheimer, now director of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, denied it.

JAIL JIMCROW: In San Francisco the Civil Rights Congress sought a court injunction against racial segregation and discrimination in the state's prison. It cited the case of Wesley Robert Wells, a Negro now under a death sentence for striking a prison guard, as a direct result of prison jimcrow practices.

BRIDGES: In a San Francisco federal court Mrs. Jean Murray and Betty Teixeira were to have their cases set for trial. They are charged with tampering with a government witness in the trial of longshore union leader Harry Bridges. During the proceedings Mrs. Murray exclaimed: "I believe the working class is going to have to defend itself." When the judge ordered her removal, she shouted: "Workers, prepare yourself for the revolution!" The judge ordered her to an institution for a mental test; she was pronounced sane.

In another outgrowth of the Bridges trial, Bridges himself was awaiting court action on a $500,000 damage suit he had filed against the government prosecutor in his case. The charges: libel and slander.

LABOR

STEELWORKERS

Doleful facts face 'fun-makers'

IN Atlantic City last week, "Phil Murray's pension-pleased CIO steel workers" were in town for what the Associated Press called "a fun-making convention." Delegates were described as enjoying the "cold war prosperity" of the steel industry, which is operating at peak capacity and with record profits.

Other observers noted uneasiness beneath the surface complacency. The union's contracts provide for wage reopening in November but the convention formulated no wage program. Unofficial excuse was that "no one knows where steel will be come November." In buying power, union statistics showed, the average wage of $64.65 a week is $7.74 below 1944 when the average was $54.02. Steel workers were worried by the cut in employment caused by speed-up and labor saving machinery: last December employment was off 7%, production only 1.7%, from the average of the first half of 1949.

UOPWA

Raided, expelled—fighting

Following the steel union into Atlantic City were delegates to the 1950 convention of the United Office & Professional Workers of America, recently expelled from the CIO.

Like the steel workers, the white-collar workers have yet to feel the full impact of unemployment. But speed-up, introduction of assembly-line methods and labor-saving machinery are beginning to take their toll. In the Columbia Broadcasting System, for example, 600 office workers now handle regular broadcasting and television in place of the 900 who handled broadcasting alone in 1946. Many of the unemployed are Negroes, since typical white-collar jobs are 97% lily-white. Wages for the unorganized are low—most have had no raises in two years.

UP HILL—BUT UP: For its members UOPWA has won wages averaging in general $10 to $15 above those of the unorganized; since 1948 it has negotiated increases averaging $6 a week for 27,000 workers, and other economic gains. In its fight against jimcrow UOPWA has won employment opportunities for Negroes in general office, publishing, radio and social service fields.

In the past two years UOPWA has fought 76 raids by the AFL and CIO against units covering 31,000 workers —in most cases successfully. Since its expulsion from the CIO it faces a combined CIO-company assault.

UE run-off

The Taft-Hartley Board announced a run-off election between the independent United Electrical Workers and the CIO International Electrical Workers at the big Westinghouse East Pittsburgh plant (see GUARDIAN, May 10). Taft-Hartley elections between the two unions were scheduled at RCA plants in Camden, N. J., and W. Virginia for May 18.

Railway firemen out

Some 18,000 railwaymen of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers walked off four major railroads to enforce demands for use of an additional fireman on multiple unit engines. The strike affects railroads from coast to coast but walkouts are confined to major lines from Chicago into the South and Far West.

PENNSYLVANIA

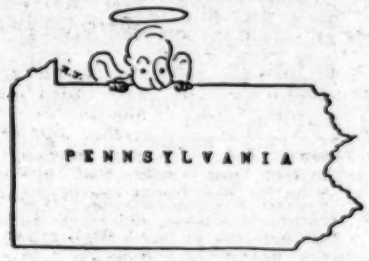
2nd richest state faces crisis

IN York, Pa.—the only city in America except for New York with a pro-Progressive daily newspaper*—farmers, professionals, trade unionists and business people met last week to discuss the crisis in Pennsylvania and demand action from the State Legislature before the crisis becomes a rout.

Second most industrialized, second wealthiest state in the Union, Pennsylvania today has:

- Over 600,000 unemployed (20% of the state's 750,000 Negroes—twice the ratio of whites—are without jobs).
- Nearly 500,000 on relief, with maximum allowance $8 a week, cut recently by around 50c a week (thus ranking 31st among 48 states in the amount paid).
- An unemployment compensation rate averaging $20.68 a week (ranking 12th among 48 states in the amount paid).

COLD WAR ON WORKERS: To the police-state atmosphere built up in Pittsburgh through FBI spy Matthew Cvetic's "revelations" (GUARDIAN, April 19, May 10), authorities now propose to add a statewide super-witch-hunt against relief clients and state welfare workers who administer the dole. Under the mask of hunting "chiselers" from the relief rolls, 100 investigators will be assigned to harrying welfare workers and spurring them



to harry the destitute more ruthlessly. Welfare workers failing to respond will be fined and dismissed.

Facts and figures were presented to the York conference showing how the workers of Pennsylvania—a heavy-industry state highly committed to cold-war orders—are robbed of jobs by the blockade of China, Russia and eastern Europe. Despite the war orders 28.2% of the durable-goods workers are jobless. Westinghouse Electric, one of the state's basic industries, depends on war preparations for 30% of its business. Coal is notoriously sick. The Marshall Plan hasn't staved off a crisis where it might be expected to—in basic industry that was supposed to rebuild a war-damaged Europe.

*The paper: York Gazette & Daily, published by Josiah W. Gitt, PP national committeeman. In The Gazette & Daily printshop, thanks to Gitt, the GUARDIAN was born in August, 1948.

OBITUARY

Agnes Smedley

ONE of the noble women of America died last week in a nursing home at Oxford, England. A few days before, Agnes Smedley had written to the GUARDIAN:

> As you receive this I shall be lying on an operating table. Now comes the final act in which I live or die. Reading of American fascism day by day, I don't care much if I go to join the spirits of my ancestors. The Nazis came to power by the same steps being taken by the American ruling class today.

A fine writer and reporter, Agnes Smedley had not merely recorded, but actively participated in, the historic mass liberation struggles of her day. Her books **China Fights Back** and **China's Red Army Marches** described the early struggles and epic march across China of Chu Teh's Eighth Route Army, in whose suffering and heroism she shared wearing a regular soldier's uniform. Only the Chinese people's leaders know the full story of her contribution to their cause.

HOUNDS AT WORK: She lived only for justice for the oppressed. The official "America" of Harry Truman consequently felt it necessary to hound her as a dangerous "subversive." Because she had worked against Japan with Communists and others during the war, she was publicly denounced last year in a U.S. Army document from Gen. Douglas MacArthur's headquarters as a "Comintern agent." In poor health and unwilling to prostitute herself as a writer, she lived miserably on the charity of friends in New York until a few months ago. She wanted to return to China, but the State Dept. refused her a passport. When friends in England invited her there to complete the book she was writing on Chu Teh, the State Dept. still held up her passport for six months.

But the cause to which Agnes Smedley devoted so much triumphed, and millions of common folk in China, India, America and elsewhere mourn the passing of this woman who lived through fearful times and never knew fear.

THE MOVIES

The phony 'Headline' and Chaplin's return

By Jean H. Lenauer

MOVIES, those fickle mirrors of America, have reflected shifting images of our land in recent weeks.

Hal Roach, veteran producer and onetime sponsor of Benito Mussolini's son, has announced he's making a new film entitled **Headline.** It will deal with a newspaper editor's attack on a big corporation and his subsequent conversion to the gospel of free enterprise and big business. The film is being openly financed by the General Motors Corp. In the past, Hollywood has prided itself on a "pure" opposition to commercial domination.

CHAPLIN'S RETURN: The first reissue booking of "City Lights" in New York is doing well. Distributors had feared activity by pro-fascist pressure groups, but nothing happened. They plan to circulate the picture widely. This should encourage progressives to demand release of Chaplin's "Monsieur Verdoux," sabotaged and withdrawn because of isolated and inspired political attacks on the great artist.

TROUBLED BOX-OFFICE: A theatre in Philadelphia has been playing the uncut version of **Bicycle Thief,** put on the index by the Eric Johnston Office. Though the code demands a fine for such insubordination, no fine has been levied. Public indignation is a potent force against this repression, the more so when box-office troubles are multiplying. And they are.

In Southern California, 26 movie houses have shut down in the last few weeks. Some Chicago theater chains have cut prices 30%.

Producer Arthur Hornblow, worried, says: "I find very few people over 25 who have a strong, abidng interest in pictures week in and week out." Wonder if he's thought of giving the customers good films?

AND A GOOD NOTE: John Hersey has sold "The Wall," his novel of the Warsaw Ghetto, to producer David Selznick. Hersey insisted (1) that the rights return to him after a period of years; (2) that he have veto power over script writer, cast and director to prevent distortion of his work. Though such procedure is commonplace in Europe, it is outright revolution in Hollywood. Arthur Miller revealed that the main obstacle to his sale of "Death of a Salesman" to the films was Hollywood's reluctance to give him similar guarantees. Film writers have never fought concertedly for this important right; they thus forfeited an important weapon.

TEN AND FREEDOM: The Supreme Court has denied appeal to the Hollywood Ten. It is a sharply etched commentary on the Hollywood scene that Secretary of State Acheson's friendly gesture toward Alger Hiss acquires heroic dimensions in comparison to the unbroken silence of film employers toward the thought control imposed upon their writers and directors. It has now been "legally" established that a screenwriter's thinking is not his own; his only tool, intellectual freedom, has been atomized.

20th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

Jewish People's Fraternal Order, International Workers Order

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
SATURDAY, MAY 20 — 7:30 P.M.

Dramatic Musical Production, featuring

Paul ROBESON

- 500-Voice JPFO Chorus, Morris Rauch, Director
- Radischev Russian Dancers
- Fraternal Mandolin Orchesta, Thomas Sokoloff, Conductor
- Children's Dance Group, Edith Segal, Director

TICKETS: $1.20 and $2.00 (tax included)
Information: N. Y. C. Office, 80 Fifth Ave. ORegon 5-1161

GRAND REOPENING MAY 20

New Features for Your Enjoyment and Comfort

- Gala Entertainment and Social Program
- Complete Sports Program
- Deluxe Hotel and Bungalow Accommodations
- Delicious Home-Like Meals
- Supervised Day Camp for Children
- Cultural and Educational Activities

REDUCED PRE-SEASON RATES

Make Your Reservations Now at
FURRIERS JOINT COUNCIL
250 West 26th St., N. Y. C. WA 4-6600
or at
WHITE LAKE 350

CALIFORNIA

it's YOUR FIGHT, too!

HELP DEFEAT THE FRAME-UP

HEAR BRIDGES

ROBERTSON – SCHMIDT and DEFENSE ATTORNEYS

AT THE OLYMPIC
1801 So. Grand, L. A.

FRIDAY, MAY 26, 8 P.M.

Admission 60c (incl. tax)
Reserved Seats (1st 10 rows) $1.20

GET YOUR TICKETS NOW AT IPP, ILWU, ASP or your own union or organization.

BOOKS
Progressive Books—New and Used
Motion Picture History
Larry Edmunds Book Shop
1603 N. Cahuenga Blvd.
HE 3273 Hollywood 23

Major Brands TV Special Prices
PAUL S. LIGHT
605 N. La Brea Av.
WEbster 5070 Los Angeles 36

For
INSURANCE, IT'S
the boroughs
RUBE & MADELINE
5302 N. Figueroa St., L. A. 42
Call Day or Night CL 6-3129

"25 Years of Painting"
by
EDWARD BIBERMAN
(Until May 30)
FRAYMART GALLERY
430 N. La Brea Av.
WEbster 9982 Hollywood 36

TELEVISION!
10 TOP BRANDS AT
10% ABOVE COST
ROSSLYN LUGGAGE AND TELEVISION SHOP
Sam Blue
139 W. 5th St., L. A. MA 1994

CHICAGO

BAY FURNITURE CO.
Special Discount for GUARDIAN Readers
8856 S. Commercial Av., Chi. 17
REgent 4-4855-56 Jos. Slovy

CHICAGOANS
Phone
LOU BLUMBERG
all forms of
INSURANCE
HA 7-5497 166 W. Jackson Blvd.

FOR THE BEST FOOD IN TOWN
LELAND'S
Restaurant & Lounge
169 W. Washington St.
CHICAGO

Union Service Workshop
Paper - Mimeograph Supplies
Placards - Printing
431 S. Dearborn St. HA 7-5337
Chicago

CHICAGOANS
all kinds of insurance
THE RODBARD AGENCY
141 W. JACKSON BLVD.
HA 7-4827 ST 2-4603

COUNTY FAIR
CARNIVAL & CRAFTS
Friday, May 19, 6 p.m. to midnight
Saturday, May 20, noon to 1 a.m.
Sunday, May 21, noon to midnight
ARTS AND CRAFTS, GAMES, DANCING, CLOWNS, RACES, CONTESTS
Penthouse, 13 Astor Place—10th floor
3-day pass, 50c; single admission 35c
Sponsors: N. Y. County ALP, American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists.

NEW YORK

new union press
ALgonquin 4-0669
119 Fourth Ave., New York 3
Complete Printing Service

INSURANCE
is a Guardian, too.
All forms, frequent, substantial savings.
WALTER KULLMAN
60 WALL STREET
N. Y. C. 5, N. Y. Digby 4-4028

Stationery and Printing
at the lowest prices in town
CHAMPION
Stationery & Printing Co.
68 Murray St., N. Y. 7
BA 7-6986-7

MOVING • STORAGE
FRANK GIARAMITA
& SONS TRUCKING CORP.
13 E. 7th St. near 3rd Av. GR 7-2457
EFFICIENT • RELIABLE

CARL JACK R.
BRODSKY
All kinds of insurance including automobile, fire, compensation.
299 B'WAY, N. Y. C. GR 5-3826

A RESORT THAT IS DIFFERENT
Informal Camp For Adults
SCHROON CREST
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
Pottersville, N. Y. On Schroon Lake
Spec. Decoration Day Weekend
4 Days Incl. Transportation $45
Full Staff—All Sports
FREE GOLF to JUNE 20th
DeLuxe Cottages For Honeymooners
Send for Bklt. & Low JUNE Rates
City Off.: 142 Montague St., B'klyn 2
Phones: MAin 4-8570, or 1230
LEAH OKUN, Director

CHILDREN'S CAMP
NIDO TECOLOTE CAMP SCHOOL
Family care in camp for children from 6-15 on our 560 acre ranch. Intercultural education stressing self-expression thru creative activities. Spanish and English spoken. Send for descriptive folder. Maria Ruthling, Box 213, Santa Fe, N. M.

Slow & a pencil?
LEARN TO TYPE IN ONE WEEK
Typing is simpler than longhand, easy to learn. Adults and children using this method have mastered the keyboard in one evening, become proficient in a week. No familiority with typewriter necessary.
Touch-Typing Simplified
Send $1 for complete course. Money refunded if not satisfied after week's trial.
Box 72-B, National Guardian
17 Murray St., N. Y. 7
* Deciphered, reads:
"SLAVE TO A PENCIL"

CHICAGOANS!
For books, pamphlets and periodicals on the labor and progressive movement. . . .
For records, art folios, prints by progressive artists.
THE MODERN BOOK STORE
180 West Washington St.
Chicago 2, Ill. DE 2-6552

HOSPITALITY UNLIMITED
OPENS MAY 26th
ALL SPORTS... ENTERTAINMENT
NEW OFFER
SPECIAL SPRING RATE
$50 per week throughout
Write for details
Easy To Reach By Bus, Train or Taxi Service
CHESTERS ZUNBARG
WOODBOURNE, N. Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

Camp UNITY
WINDSOR, N.Y.
Decoration Day Weekend
4 Full Days $30 No Tipping
$8 Per Day
Show every night featuring FREEDOM THEATER with Laura Duncan, Bob DeCormier, Hesh Bernardi, and well known dance band. Reorganized Tennis Courts! Outdoor Basketball Court. All Sports.
Weekly Rates $40-$43 No Tipping
Room 610, 1 Union Sq. AL. 4-8024

San Cristobal Valley Ranch
Interracial
Featuring Earl Robinson, Jenny Wells
Fiestas, Dances, Fishing
Mountain Trips, Campfires
Special children's program
Special rates through June
For information & reservations: Craig Vincent, San Cristobal Valley Ranch, San Cristobal, N. M.

ARROWHEAD
for
Decoration Day
Special guests: Johannes Steel, folk singer Betty Sanders
LOW SPRING RATES
Ellenville, N. Y Ellenville 502
City Phone: GR 7-1267

Tell the advertiser you saw it in the GUARDIAN.

CALENDAR

New York

PROGRAM OF NEGRO SYMPHONIC MUSIC, Benefit of African Aid Committee, W. E. B. DuBois, chairman. Town Hall, Sunday, May 21, 2:30 p.m. Premiere of African Symphony, works of other Negro composers, directed by Dean Dixon. Tickets $1.80 to $4.80, available 23 W. 26th St., MU 3-6209; Book Fair, 133 W. 44th St.; Town Hall.

Philadelphia

PHILA. NATURE FRIENDS CAMP. Big doings at Campers Reunion Memorial Day weekend, May 27-28. Low rates, good fun, eating, hiking. Plenty of work projects. For reservations write Nature Friends of Phila., 1013 W. Lehigh, Box 337, c/o YMCA.

Santa Monica

HOLD THE DATE! Sat., June 3, 9 p.m. Beaux Arts Peace Ball, Chase Hotel, Santa Monica. Dancing, Entertainment, Surprises! Adm. $1.50. ASP, 1586 Crossroads of World, Hollywood. GR. 4188.

Chicago

NOBODY, BUT NOBODY will have a dance like ours. Testimonial Dance-Party—live band, accordionist, operetta honoring Sid Ordower. Sat., May 20, 1110 S. Oakley. Adm. $1. 8:30 until ? 23rd-24th Wards PP.

PROBLEMS OF RAISING CHILDREN IN JIMCROW COMMUNITY. Stimulating symposium. Three outstanding speakers. Wed., May 24, 8 p.m. Second Baptist Church, 1707 Benson St., Evanston. Rev. T. J. Griffin, moderator. Auspices: Northside Civic Club.

CLASSIFIED

RESPONSIBLE GIRL WANTED to share spacious Greenwich Village apt; own bedroom. $55. Box 688, Natl. Guardian, 17 Murray St., N.Y. 7.

LET US HELP YOU be an active progressive. We'll mind the kids. Any time. Any place. Baby Sitter, Inc., Chicago. ANdover 3-3235.

DECORATION WEEKEND. Exhibition of Mexican Folk Dances by Taos Spanish Club. Songs for Freedom, 1850-1950, by Jenny Wells. Special Rates, $6 a day. San Cristobal Valley Ranch, N. M.

"PEOPLE CAN'T AFFORD to really live," writes a Guardian reader in Moscow, Idaho, "but IT COSTS MORE TO DIE." My suggestion: cheat the undertaker for as long as you can by laughing at him. For $2 cash I'll send you an autographed copy of my 350-page novel "ABIDE WITH ME" (store price, $3.50), satirizing big business as symbolized by the mortician racket. "Bitter and brilliant . . . one of the most gruesomely amusing attacks ever launched."—N. Y. Post. Address: Cedric Belfrage, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Listings in this section are available at 40c a line (six words); minimum charge $2 per insertion. Copy deadline Friday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Calendar, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

BASIC FACTS ABOUT USSR—10c; The Soviet Union Today—An Outline Study"—$1. American Russian Institute, 58 Park Av., N. Y. C. 16.

MIMEOGRAPHING, MULTIGRAPHING, PHOTO-OFFSET, MAILING. Co-op Mimeo Service, 39 Union Sq., New York 3. SPring 7--6390-1.

PLANNING A FUND RAISING PARTY? Keep your liquor costs low. Free deliveries anywhere in N. Y. C. Call PL 3-5160. ALVIN UDELL, Wines & Liquors, 26 E. 58 St., NYC.

POULTRY, EGGS, BUTTER direct from the farm. Balanoff's, 8947 Commercial Av., Chicago. REgent 4-5365.

SPIKE'S PICKUP TRUCKING SERVICE for all small jobs. City, beach and country trips. Available on shortest notice. Call New York; UN 4-7707.

JUST THE TYPE: We type manuscripts, letters, legal documents or anything else you can send us in longhand. Fees to GUARDIAN readers are low. For information write GUARDIAN, Box 2355-X.

LANGSTON HUGHES' new book, "Simple Speaks His Mind," is a delightfully entertaining but effective weapon against jimcrow. Soft-covered edition only $1. We pay postage. Book Mail Service, Dept. 14, West Hempstead, N. Y.

SEND US YOUR CHILDREN for a happy vacation at Higley Hill Camp in Green Mts., Vt. Progressive, Creative, Interracial. Good food, fun, swimming. $275—8 wks. The Granich's. Wilmington, Vermont.

OUR BIGGEST SALE. Everything must go to make room for new seasonable goods. Zeliot's Dept. Store, 250 W. 14th St., N. Y. C.

CHARMAINE LODGE, WAUPACA, WISCONSIN. Special Decoration Week-end rates. Fri., May 26 to Tues., May 30—$22.50. Special entertainment attractions. Information, reservations: Rose Harris, 1250 N. Spaulding, Chicago. SP 2-5984.

Buy your BEST BUY at STANDARD

Standard Brand DIST.

143 4 AVE. (13 & 14 ST.) N.Y. 3 GR 3-7819

DON'T SIMMER ANOTHER SUMMER!

Keep Cool with Fans - Air Conditioners

Top Brands at HUGE Savings

All Sizes for Office and Home Use

'CLOSE-OUT SPECIALS'

GENERAL ELECTRIC WAFFLE IRON. Reg. price $11.95. Special $8.75. Mail orders 70c addl; 95c west of Mississippi.

TEN INCH WESTINGHOUSE OSCILLATING FAN. Orig. price $14.95 Special $10.95. Mail orders 70c addl; 95c west of Mississippi.

PARKER "51" PEN. Fine or medium point. Reg. price $13.50. Special $8.95. Mail orders 25c addl.

Buy Your Best Buy at STANDARD

ASK MISS PECK...

How YOU can help the GUARDIAN with a house party, forum, wingding or whatnot in your home, club or community. Whoever you are, wherever you are, the GUARDIAN wants and needs your help.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray Street
New York 7, N. Y.
WOrth 4-1750

ALP presents:
MARDI GRAS NITE
Carnival ● Nite Club
Broadway Entertainment, Singing Waiters, Dancing
SAT. EVE, May 20, 8:30 p.m.
1723 Boston Rd., Bronx
(Over the Dover) Adm. 59c

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Rugs costly now; tips on value

CARPET prices have gone up 15% this year alone and have become the chief bugaboo for home furnishers. One New York trade expert—Fred Gold, who operates the Rugcraft carpet warehouse at 419 E. 24th St.—offers GUARDIAN readers several tips for keeping down costs. He says:

Plain velvet generally offers most durability for the price. Five dollars worth of velvet gives more wear than $5 worth of axminster. But plain velvet has one defect: it shows footprints. Twist broadloom does not show prints and scuffs so easily, but costs about 10% more than velvet of comparable quality. Chenille rugs are sometimes a risk: if one loop comes out, a whole row may unravel. Medium shades give least trouble in housekeeping. Light-colored rugs show dirt easily, dark ones show lint.

As a result of the steep tags on all-wool carpeting, more rugs from now on will be part rayon. Gold and others believe the new rugs will give good wear. Rugcraft sells retail at 20% under most stores; frequently it has unusually good values in seconds. It ships room-size rugs out of town, handles installations only in the metropolitan area.

Eames chair at a discount

SOME of the best "contemporary" designs in furniture are out of the price reach of most families. They are not produced in as large quantities as the "commercial" moderns.

One piece considered outstanding is the Eames chair of molded plywood (see photo). It is unusually comfortable for a non-upholstered chair, and is usable for a living room, dining and other purposes. It's regularly $33.50, but readers of this department may buy it for $26 with plywood legs, or $25 with chrome legs, from Euster Associates, 104 E. 28th St., N. Y. C. This is the first time the famous chair has ever been publicly offered at discount. Finishes include natural birch, walnut, ash or impregnated black or red lacquer. The chair will be shipped express charges collect from Zeeland, Mich. Express cost would come to about $1.90 to such points as Boston and Oklahoma City.

THE EAMES CHAIR

Euster also offers another top design: the coffee table which recently won an American Institute of Design First Award. Top is birch rods in a walnut frame; legs are rod steel. The table is 5 feet long by 17 inches wide by 9½ inches high. Price is $17 with express charges collect.

VEEDS OFFERS BIG DISCOUNTS

On All Famous Makes
TELEVISION SETS
WASHING MACHINES
REFRIGERATORS
RADIOS
APPLIANCES

Check us first, our prices are LOWER.

VEEDS (for Value)
23 E. 26th St. New York City
8th Floor MU 6-4443

MEN'S SHIRTS

- SHORT SLEEVE SPORT SHIRTS. Fancy. Good quality. Tan, blue, grey, maize. —3 for $5
- FINE BROADCLOTH DRESS SHIRTS. Spread collar. White only. —3 for $7.50
- LUSTROUS WOVEN PIMA SHIRTS. With or without French cuffs. Blue only. —2 for $7.50
- EXTRA SIZE SHIRTS. Sizes 17½ to 20. Fine white broadcloth or woven striped madras. 3 for $7.50

Mail orders 35c additional, 50c west of Mississippi

CONCORD SHIRT CO.
c/o Excello Products, 1150 B'way
MU 3-9540 New York City

PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS

The pleasure of your company is requested to honor

"ONE HUNDRED CASES"

at a dinner

In Defense of Civil Rights

MON. EVE., MAY 22 For Reservations Call MU 4-6640

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN COMMITTEE
LAWYERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Out May 25 **HIGH TREASON** *Save $2.25*

By special arrangement with the publishers, the GUARDIAN is offering a People's Edition of Albert E. Kahn's latest book—the most urgent book printed since the war.

Order HIGH TREASON through the GUARDIAN for $1 (bookstore price is $3). Get HIGH TREASON with your year's renewal for only $1.75. You can also get your copy free. See the coupon below.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray Street, New York City

☐ Enclosed $1.75 for a one-year subscription to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and a copy of HIGH TREASON.
☐ Enclosed $1.00 for which send me postpaid a copy of HIGH TREASON.
☐ Enclosed remittance for 4 subs and my FREE POSTPAID copy of HIGH TREASON.

PRINT NAMES, PLEASE street city & ZONE State

1 .....
3 .....
2 .....
4 .....

SENDER'S NAME: .....

ADDRESS .....

MONTHLY REVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

Editors: Leo Huberman, Paul M. Sweezy

In the current issue—MAY, 1950

COOPERATION ON THE LEFT

HENRY A. WALLACE — HARVEY O'CONNOR
F. O. MATTHIESEN — CORLISS LAMONT
CAREY McWILLIAMS — CEDRIC BELFRAGE
IRVING H. FLAMM — SHAEMAS O'SHEEL

RATES: single copy 35c; $3 one year; $5 two years.

For a limited time, you can get with a subscription to MR, the following books by Leo Huberman:

WE, THE PEOPLE, choice of both the English Left Book Club and The Book Find Club.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM, just published at $3 per copy.

MONTHLY REVIEW, Dept. G, 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N. Y.
I enclose:
☐ 35c for the May issue
☐ $3 for a 1-year sub and a free copy of WE, THE PEOPLE
☐ $4 for a 1-year sub and a copy of THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM
☐ $5 for a 1-year sub and BOTH BOOKS

Name Address
City Zone State

INSIDE THE AUTO WORKERS

The remarkable rise of Walter Reuther

Over the bitter objections of the union bargaining committee, Walter Reuther ended the 100-day Chrysler strike with a contract which pleased management, gained the workers little. Last week he announced UAW would tackle General Motors with a 31c package demand, including $125 a month pensions and a 9c hourly wage increase. The GUARDIAN presents the first instalment of a two-part portrait of labor's "man of the hour" by Henry Kraus, author of "The Many and the Few," the story of the famous UAW sitdown strike in Flint, and first editor of the UAW official paper, "The Auto Worker."

By Henry Kraus

WALTER Reuther, president of the CIO United Auto Workers, is widely considered labor's expert on the "reds." He learned his specialty, he told the 1948 convention, during 1933-34 when he worked in the Soviet Union.

In Russia, Reuther told the convention, he had to eat plain black bread and cabbage soup every day and learned to witness untold misery without wincing. "There are no free trade unions," he said; "I belonged to a Russian trade union because I had to join one.... The minute they start fighting for the things that we fight for through our free trade union movement, the party secretary takes over and tells the boys where to get off."

When he was there he talked—and thought—differently. He signed letters to friends, "Yours for a Soviet America." In one he wrote:

> "If you could be with us for just one day in our shop you would realize the significance of the Soviet Union. . . . Here are no bosses with power to drive [the workers] to mad speedups. Here the workers are in control. Even the shop superintendent has no more right . . . than any other worker. . . . Try and imagine that at Fords or Briggs. This is what the outside world calls the 'ruthless dictatorship in Russia. . . .'"

UNWAVERINGLY ANTI - HEARST: His present poor memory matches his abandonment of the militant trade union policies he once embraced. Returning to Detroit in 1935, when the auto workers seethed with organizational interest and the Communists ployed a leading role, he sought to get his Socialist Party comrades to accept the more forthright, united-front Communist program.

WALTER REUTHER
Elbows does it

A convention of the newly-born CIO was scheduled at South Bend. Reuther wanted to attend it—but he wasn't a member, wasn't working in a plant, and his last job in the U. S. had been as foreman at Ford, which would have made him ineligible anyway. So he got a friend who was secretary of the Ternstedt (GM) local to put his name on the books. The gimmick was that Reuther was supposed to be working under an assumed name to escape the blacklist, and since there were only 11 members in the local (out of 8,000 eligible) it was next to impossible to check him up. The local had no money to send a delegate to the convention, but when Reuther offered to pay his own expenses the members agreed to let him go.

At South Bend Reuther stayed out of all debates, confining himself to one surefire speech—attacking Hearst. His ostensible role was to elect a Socialist comrade, Allan Strachan (now acting as head of the U. S. labor mission to fascist Greece), as board member from westside Detroit. But, strangely, when the delegates cast their ballots, Reuther and not Strachan was elected.

JOCKEYING FOR POSITION: During the following year the auto workers wrote some of the most exciting pages in U. S. labor history. But at the height of the union's successes, its president, glib ex-preacher Homer Martin—probably at the time already a Ford agent—shattered the united front which made them possible. His wild red-baiting spread confusion among new recruits.

It was the winter of the so-called sitdown of capital (FDR's phrase) and the business recession. Martin's mentor, Jay Lovestone, expelled Communist Party national secretary (now paid political adviser to David Dubinsky, head of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union) saw the beginning of a full-blown crisis—and Martin announced that his union would consider "wage adjustments" with employers who were experiencing "hardship". The auto workers had to conduct several more bloody struggles to reverse their president's offer.

With his followers leaving him in flocks, Martin in desperation suspended five of the UAW's seven top elected officers and haled them to trial before his rigged executive board. The union's struggle for survival extended down through the ranks into every plant and department.

This was the fateful moment of decision for Reuther. Foreseeing that all principals would kill each other off, leaving the field to himself, he adopted a lofty "plague on both your houses" line. Actually, at that very moment, he and his chief supporters (brother Victor, Emil Mazey, George Edwards) were holding secret meetings with Martin-Lovestone representatives. (This and other sordid details were revealed months later when a group of letters between Lovestone and members of Martin's staff were made public under mysterious circumstances.)

THE PLUM DROPS: Dubinsky's secret gift of $25,000 and uncounted thousands coming from Harry Bennett, Ford personnel director, failed to avert an explosion when Martin's plot was revealed to turn the UAW into a company union controlled by Henry Ford. All but a tiny remnant of Martin's still-remaining followers abandoned him.

At the UAW's 1939 reorganizing convention the militant Wyndham Mortimer-George Addes forces were in the saddle by about two to one. Reuther, in no position to push his own candidacy, endorsed that of R. J. Thomas, an 11th-hour convert from Homer Martin, whom Philip Murray, then CIO vice-president, favored on the ground that only a "neutral" could re-unite the UAW. Actually Murray saw an opportunity to squeeze the left-progressives from leadership: he threatened that if a free election were held, he would tell the press the Communist Party had taken over the UAW.

Rank-and-file delegates raged at this interference, but Murray won his point and Thomas was unopposed. All vice presidencies, which were held by the Mortimer-Addes group, were abolished. Only in the choice of the executive board was a free vote allowed—and here the progressives showed their strength by capturing two-thirds of the posts.

Walter Reuther now became the power behind Thomas' throne. The chief appointees of the latter were Reutherites. The prize plum, General Motors division director, fell to Reuther himself. From this vantage point, the shrewd maneuverer began to build his national machine and to sharpen the knife destined for his naive and trusting benefactor's throat.

•

Next week: How Reuther became darling of the industrialists while auto workers' conditions grow steadily worse.

Profits, rats and slums

Housing crisis in Detroit

By Ruth Haney
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

DETROIT

MAY first was D-day in Detroit. The city filed in Circuit Court the first 39 of 500 eviction suits to be brought against families living on two slum-clearance sites. The rest were to be filed at the rate of 75 a day.

These families, most of whom are Negroes, have no place to go. The Mayor and Council have refused available federal funds to build public housing for those who need low-cost homes. Those who could afford homes in outer residential areas are forcibly excluded by organized terrorists: last week arsonists set fire to a new house under construction for a Negro doctor, in the same area where two other houses for Negroes and several garages have been burned in the past two months.

The Emergency Committee for Public Housing, headed by Rev. Charles A. Hill, has arranged for a panel of attorneys to fight the evictions until the people have a place to go. The Progressive Party is cooperating with the committee, and is carrying out its own campaign for public housing.

GHETTOS: Speaking at a mass meeting, Roberta Barrow, PP candidate for Michigan Secretary of State in 1948, said that her church wrote the Mayor two months ago asking his plans for relocating the displaced persons in the slum-clearance program. "The Mayor never answered," she said; "he **has no answer.**"

The Mayor thought he had an answer in the Fisher Homes project. Because Negroes lived on three sides of the project, he proposed to move out the white tenants and move Negroes into the Fisher Homes, thus preserving segregation. But 150 Fisher Homes tenants at their meeting rejected his jimcrow proposal. They called instead for **all vacancies** in all public housing to be filled on a basis of need alone, regardless of race.

The Fisher Homes became the focal point of the fight to end ghettos, and of a refusal by both Negroes and whites to enter into racial competition for dwelling space. The city was putting pressure on both races. Last week Negro leaders walked out on a meeting arranged at the Mayor's direction to sell the city's jimcrow dehousing program to the Negro people at the Detroit Urban League.

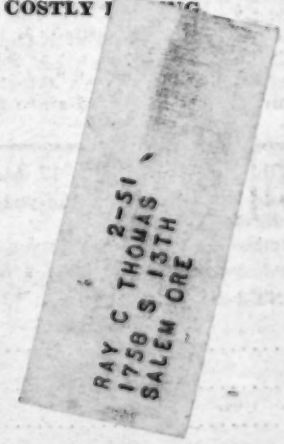
THE VICTIMS: Detroit needs 100,000 low-cost homes—but it is the same old story of property rights vs. human rights. Hardest hit in the slum-clearance program are the widows, small home owners and small businesses. An Italian couple living on old age pensions, who had owned their home for 26 years, were offered only $1,800 for it in the condemnation proceedings. With that sum they couldn't get another house, couldn't pay rent anywhere very long.

The Detroit Housing Commission has made no provision for the widows, some of whom have managed to exist adequately on old age pensions but

are not able to go hunting a new place. Small businessmen who have been for years in the area are faced with the loss of their livelihood, too old to get jobs. The city has made no provision for their return when the area is redeveloped.

PLUSH AND RATS: Adding up in March the city's industrial and business gains for the past ten years, the Board of Commerce showed that the decade of hot and cold war has brought fabulous riches to Detroit's manufacturers and bankers. The number of factories increased 68%; factory output, 206%; car and truck output, 75%. In 1949 total factory output was valued at $7,900,000,000, and checks deposited in Detroit banks totaled $37,955,000,000.

Yet in the same issue of the Detroit newspaper that boasted of the city's "boom" (unemployment is at a peak level), this headline appeared: 2 MILLION RATS ROAM CITY AT WILL. The paper reported:

> Detroit harbors a noxious, vicious foe —a parasitical tyrant which consumes our food, infects our children with fatal diseases, and drags its tail of filth across the city's very life. . . . During 1949 rat bites soared to the near-record high of 117. . . . More than 65% [of these] were inflicted on children under 10.

IF YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS IS IMPRINTED IN RED INK ON THE MAILING TAG BELOW, YOU OWE US $1 FOR YOUR SUBSCRIPTION. PROMPT PAYMENT WILL HELP US AVOID A SECOND COSTLY M[illegible]G